

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 241330 TOSEC 280005

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 241330 TOSEC 280005

NODIS

CHEROKEE/FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ROGERS

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: DRAFT LETTER TO CROSLAND

1. HERE IS A DRAFT OF THE LETTER TO CROSLAND YOU ASKED FOR.

2. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR TONY: I HAVE ALREADY GIVEN PETER
OUR ANSWERS TO THE FOUR QUESTIONS HE PUT TO US ON BEHALF
OF WHITEHALL TODAY, BUT I WANTED TO ADD A WORD FOR YOU
ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE OF PROCEDURE FROM THIS POINT
ON.

3. FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THE COMPOSITION
AND POWERS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS WERE BASICALLY DRAWN FROM YOUR ANNEX C. IF WE
BEGIN NOW TELLING THE PRESIDENTS THAT THEY ARE NEGOTIABLE,
AND INVITING THEM IN THAT WAY TO STAKE OUT HARDER AND HARDER
POSITIONS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE TO ORGANIZE THE TRANSITIONAL
GOVERNMENT EVEN BEGINS, WE ARE ASKING FOR TROUBLE AND WE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 241330 TOSEC 280005

WILL INSURE THAT THE RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS WILL COME TO

THE BARGAINING TABLE, IF AT ALL, WITH PRECIOUS LITTLE FLEXIBILITY.

4. SECONDLY, IF A SUGGESTION BY US THAT THESE PROPOSED COMPONENTS OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WERE PUT FORWARD FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSE, GETS BACK TO SMITH, AS IT SURELY WOULD, THEN IT WILL MAKE IT EVEN LESS LIKELY THAT HE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO JOIN THE CONFERENCE, AND MORE LIKELY THAT HE WILL CHUCK EVERYTHING.

5. IF, IN SHORT, WE BEGIN TO OFFER SUBSTANTIVE LATITUDE TO THE PRESIDENTS NOW, AS THE PRICE FOR GETTING THEM TO CONSENT TO AN EARLY MEETING, THEN WE INSURE THAT THERE WILL BE LITTLE POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISE ON EITHER SIDE WHEN THE CONFERENCE FINALLY BEGINS.

6. THESE ARE THE REASONS WHY IT SEEMS TO ME SO ESSENTIAL THAT WE CONCENTRATE NOW ON PROCEDURE -- THE TIME, PLACE, PARTICIPANTS AND MODALITIES OF THE CONFERENCE TO ORGANIZE THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT -- RATHER THAN ON THE SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA OF THAT CONFERENCE, OR THE DETAILS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. THE POSSIBILITIES THAT A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WILL EMERGE FROM THE CONFERENCE ARE VERY MUCH GREATER THAN THAT WE CAN PRENEGOTIATE ONE BEFORE THE CONFERENCE BEGINS. I SAY THIS WITH SEVERAL CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND.

7. IN THE FIRST PLACE, I BELIEVE THAT THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES THEMSELVES WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO DISCUSS THE STRUCTURE AND PROCESS OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT IN A FLEXIBLE AND CONCILIATORY FASHION AT THE CONFERENCE ITSELF THAN THEY ARE IF THE DISCUSSION IS CARRIED ON, AS IT IS NOW, IN THE PUBLIC PRESS, BEFORE THE EYES OF THEIR NATURALLY SENSITIVE CONSTITUENCY.

8. IN THE SECOND PLACE, ANY EFFORT TO PRENEGOTIATE THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE TO BE CARRIED ON THROUGH THE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS,
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 241330 TOSEC 280005

WHEREAS AT THE CONFERENCE THE AFRICAN SIDE WILL BE REPRESENTED BY RHODESIAN NATIONALIST LEADERS. THE PRESIDENTS ARE CONCERNED WITH THEIR POSITIONS IN THEIR OWN NATIONS, THEY CAN ILL AFFORD TO GIVE THE PUBLIC IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO CONCILIATE WITH THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NATIONALIST LEADERS AT THE CONFERENCE WILL BE DRIVEN BY THEIR DESIRE TO MOVE AS QUICKLY AS THEY CAN INTO THE

SEATS OF POWER IN RHODESIA. WE HAVE ALREADY BEEN ASSURED FROM LUSAKA THAT AS SOON AS THE NATIONALIST SPOKESMEN RECEIVE THEIR MANDATES AND GET TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE WE WILL SEE MORE CONCILIATORY AND FLEXIBLE POSITIONS EMERGE.

9. IN SHORT, THE PRESSURES ON BOTH SIDES WILL BE DIFFERENT, THE PEOPLE WILL BE DIFFERENT AND THEIR MOTIVES WILL BE DIFFERENT AT THE MEETING THAN THOSE WITH WHICH WE ARE NOW DEALING.

10. THIS IS THE REASON WHY WE HAVE URGED YOU FORMALLY TO ANNOUNCE YOUR CALL FOR THE CONFERENCE, QUICKLY, AND WHY WE THINK THAT ROWLANDS SHOULD CONCENTRATE, AND BE SEEN TO BE CONCENTRATING, ON PROCEDURE RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE DURING HIS VISIT IN AFRICA. IF LONDON HAS MADE PUBLIC ITS COMMITMENT TO AN EARLY MEETING THEN ROWLAND'S TALKS CAN BE EASILY UNDERSTOOD AS AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM TOWARD THE CONFERENCE TABLE, RATHER THAN AS AN EFFORT TO BRIDGE SUBSTANTIVE FISSURES WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTIES AND WILL, AT THE SAME TIME, MAKE ANY MEETING WITH THE RHODESIANS LESS SUBJECT TO MISINTERPRETATION.

11. I AM SURE YOU SHARE THESE SENTIMENTS, BUT I THOUGHT IT WELL TO LAY THEM BEFORE YOU, AT THIS SENSITIVE POINT IN OUR JOINT EFFORT, TO AVOID ANY POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING. AGAIN, LET ME SAY THAT WE ARE NOT ABANDONING THESE EFFORTS IN ANY RESPECT, AND THAT SCHAUFLE STANDS READY TO COOPERATE FULLY WITH ROWLANDS IN THEIR COMING TALKS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER. END TEXT ROBINSON

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